

## THE TARIFF AND WAGES.

Contents of the Report of the New York Commissioner of Labor

## ON EFFECT OF THE MCKINLEY BILL

On Wages in the Empire State—The Text of the Document Which Has Fallen Like a Bomb-Shell in the Free Trade Camp and Spiked the Democratic Guns—The Commissioner is a Democrat, Appointed by Cleveland, and His Report Has Scattered the Cleveland Forces.

Charles F. Peck was appointed commissioner of labor statistics by Grover Cleveland when governor on May 4, 1883. He was recommended for the place by David R. Hill, who was at the time lieutenant governor. Following is Mr. Peck's ninth annual report, just issued, extracts from which have appeared before in the INTELLIGENCER, and which have caused much consternation in the Democratic ranks. He took for his subject the tariff, for the reason, he explains, that it above all other questions interests the laboring man. His investigations began last December, and as he says overthrows the arguments advanced by Democratic speakers that the wages of not a single workman has been increased as a result of the "McKinley bill." Here is the report:

In pursuance of law, the undersigned has completed the work attendant upon the issuing of the ninth annual report of the bureau of statistics of labor, and herewith gives a brief summary of the contents of the same. Its completion has been necessarily delayed by reason of the unusual amount and important character of the work undertaken. Of all the varied subjects investigated and reported upon during the bureau's nine years of existence, none have borne a closer relationship to the welfare of the wage-earners of the state or furnished the public in general with statistical data so valuable to a comprehensive understanding of the practical workings of the one great economic question of the present day as the tariff.

A QUESTION OF VAST IMPORT. Tariff, whether levied "for revenue only" or for "revenue and the incidental protection of American manufacturers and American labor," is certainly a question of vast import as to enlist the most thorough and dispassionate investigation at the hands of the American people. And while the present report has, under the law, been confined to the state of New York, its results can but be taken as indicative of the conditions existing in every section of our country where manufacturing and industrial pursuits are followed.

With the exception of a limited number of the great industries carried on in our country, no state in the union offers a field so varied or extensive within which the statistician can carry on his work with greater assurances of intelligent success than is presented by the state of New York. Within its borders are to be found by far the greatest number of manufacturing establishments, the most varied industries and the largest number of individual employers and wage-earners of any of the forty-four commonwealths embraced in the United States. So that, whatever the statistical data collected and tabulated may prove, relative to the effects of "protection" on labor and wages in New York, may justly be taken as fairly representative of the conditions throughout the whole country.

DEMOCRATIC PROMISE OF 1888. Not for many years has the subject of the tariff assumed such great proportions as attached to it in 1888. Always an important and interesting question of political economics for discussion by our statesmen, yet by reason of the President of the United States making it the sole subject of his annual message to Congress in December, 1887, interest in it became general among the masses and a memorable "campaign of education" followed during the ten succeeding months of 1888. It is not the province of the undersigned to here discuss the merits of a "protective tariff," or to pronounce for or against the public policy of a "tariff for revenue only." A majority of the American people declared by their votes in 1888 in favor of the latter policy, and yet their candidate was defeated by reason of our electoral system, the minority candidate and a Congress in sympathy with the chief executive being elected. The canvass was carried on with relentless vigor by both sides, and public interest was unusually aroused in a question of great public policy, rather than as to the personality of candidates. The selfish business interests of the manufacturers and their employees were appealed to; larger production, wider markets and increased profits were promised the employers. More work, higher wages, shorter hours of labor and unexampled prosperity were among the inducements held out to the wage-earners by the advocates of "protection." On the other hand, the advocates of the policy of a "tariff for revenue only" contended that only through a "reform" of our tariff laws, i. e., a reduction of our revenues to a basis of raising just sufficient money to defray the expenses of the government, honestly and economically administered, could all of these desirable results be attained.

INVESTIGATION AND REASONING. Almost innumerable queries were made of this bureau by the great writers upon economic subjects, the leaders of thought and discussion in our pulpits, on the rostrum and through the public press, for reliable data and statistics bearing upon this very important subject.

And it was by reason of this situation, no less than with a view to establish the truth or falsity of the premises taken by the two great political parties of the country, that the undersigned finally decided to make the subject of "the effect of the tariff on labor and wages" one of special investigation. It may be urged by some that the investigation made has not been broad enough or of sufficient scope to fairly warrant the deductions arrived at, by reason of the fact that the cost of living, including the necessities that go to make it up, have been given no place in the work. It should be borne in mind, however, that it has been my endeavor to investigate only that phase of the subject which relates simply to the increase or decrease of production and the rate of wages paid.

FROM SIX THOUSAND WITNESSES. The period covered by investigation includes the year immediately prior to the enactment of what is termed the "McKinley Bill," and the year immediately following its becoming law. That is, the data upon which the report has been made was for the year com-

mencing September 1, 1889, up to and including the 31st of August, 1890, and the year commencing September 1, 1890, up to and including the 31st of August, 1891. The methods employed to secure the necessary data were almost entirely those of the blank system, which has proven so satisfactory in nearly all of the previous investigations carried on by the bureau since 1883. It was not the original purpose, nor is it now pretended, that the data and statistics here presented represent any but purely wholesale manufacturing establishments. To have undertaken to cover the retail and custom manufacturing establishments of the state would have been a physical and financial impossibility in the present status of this bureau. Some eight thousand blanks were addressed and mailed to as many separate establishments throughout the state, and of this number 6,000, or 75 per cent, were returned fully and correctly answered. The figures contained in the following tables are based entirely upon returns furnished this bureau by over 6,000 substantial, representative and leading business firms of this state:

Industries.	Wages.	Product.
Arms and ammunition	1,263 00	1,143 00
Artisan's tools	48,464 25	429,000 00
Boots and shoes	262,796 33	49,441 64
Brooms and brushes	30,663 85	348,772 35
Burial cases, caskets, coffins, etc.	2,477 46	1,881,738 88
Carriages	240,143 29	73,569 67
Carpenter's, lime, plaster, etc.	53,110 98	219,124 66
Chemicals, acids, etc.	44,541 89	7,565,390 27
Clothing	2,705,202 21	164,769 33
Cooking and heating apparatus	210,211 56	107,249 90
Cordage and twine	17,362 05	48,725 79
Cork, cork soles, etc.	12,101 83	88,822 51
Crayons and pencils	33,765 03	49,891 37
Drugs and medicines	37,563 48	148,128 71
Dye stuffs and chemicals	14,128 71	566,602 11
Earthen and stoneware	44,825 20	30,573 03
Electrical apparatus and appliances	6,088 14	68,668 23
Fancy articles	34,478 99	201,115 64
Fertilizers	9,078 77	29,898 25
Fireworks and matches	2,736 00	2,017,889 69
Flax, hemp and jute	160,525 61	1,361,367 45
Food preparations	157,362 45	544,193 16
Furniture	190,293 54	98,623 61
Gas lighting	314,680 56	342,098 14
Glass	130,122 08	4,610 00
Gloves, mittens, etc.	549 00	169,530 32
Gold, wax and starch	78,561 61	369,251 39
Hair work (animal and human)	500 00	5,000 00
Ivory, bone, shell, horn goods, etc.	78,561 61	369,251 39
Leather and leather goods	78,561 61	369,251 39
Liquors, malt, distilled and fermented	104,458 15	2,305,498 44
Machinery and machine tools	374,094 55	3,379,615 46
Metals and metallic goods	518,026 98	15,147 20
Musical instruments and materials	118,467 99	2,781,478 18
Oils and illuminating fluids	22,191 05	1,113,071 91
Paints, colors and crude materials	321,817 19	978,943 70
Paper and paper goods	1,113,071 91	136,109 50
Perfumes, toilet articles, etc.	136,109 50	330,377 30
Photographs and photographic materials	24,113 69	101,225 02
Polishes and dressings	38,670 02	781,990 01
Printing, publishing and bookbinding	103,843 11	1,459,343 66
Railroad equipment	136,703 71	152,499 81
Rubber and elastic goods	18,422 32	218,554 37
Salt	74,400 61	2,736 00
Scientific instruments and appliances	70,136 48	79,395 30
Toys and games (children's)	1,545 00	1,629 70
Tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, etc.	447,147 68	4,379,050 28
Trunks and valises	2,160 00	177,983 24
Wooden goods	177,983 24	728,791 01

Industries.	Wages.	Product.
Agricultural implements	208,869 41	51,948,703 88
Artisan's tools	48,464 25	61,562 45
Awning, flags, sails, tents, etc.	11,090 95	25,055 28
Brick, tile and sewer pipe	101,597 36	93,916 32
Building	96,829 15	172,284 43
Carriages, wagons, etc.	270,293 54	168,791 47
Chemicals, acids, etc.	24,089 71	361,771 17
Clocks, watches, etc.	3,709 40	8,004 38
Dye stuffs and chemicals	80,019 02	51,037 77
Fertilizers	51,037 77	4,168 07
Flax, hemp and jute goods	8,292 04	8,292 04
Glass, wax and starch	8,292 04	7,221 59
Ink, mucilage and paste	11,672 40	49,421 11
Ivory, bone, shell, horn goods, etc.	49,421 11	79,881 17
Liquors and beverages (not spirits)	101,421 80	1,112,159 55
Lumber	27,770 83	45,965 43
Machines and machinery	27,770 83	45,965 43
Moulds, lasts and patterns	7,182 11	112,380 25
Paints, colors and crude materials	10,300 73	15,139 65
Perfumes, toilet articles, etc.	15,139 65	189,889 77
Sports and athletic goods	42,154 79	1,053,647 08
Stone, marble, etc.	46,016 40	13,499 02
Tallow, candles, soap, grease, etc.	13,499 02	56,362 43
Tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, etc.	4,168 07	4,168 07
Trunks and valises	4,168 07	4,168 07
Whips, lashes and stocks	4,168 07	4,168 07

From the above the reader will readily understand the exact nature and scope of the investigation, the results of which are herein briefly summarized in tables showing a comparative statement of the increase and decrease of production and wages in the sixty-seven industries covered. With a view of economizing space, I have classified trades under the heading of "industries." That is, in the "clothing" industry are included all those trades or establishments manufacturing articles of wearing apparel; and so, too, with the "metals and metallic goods," "agricultural implements," etc., etc. Under "clothing" are included no less than 136 distinct trades.

COMMENT IS NEEDLESS.

It is needless to comment upon the separate figures or the totals included in the above table; they tell their own story simply and with absolute truth. It appears that there was a net increase in wages of \$6,377,925 09 in the year 1891, as compared with the amount paid in 1890, and a net increase of production of \$31,138,130 68 in the year 1891 over that of 1890. A simple analysis of this table further demonstrates the interesting fact that of the sixty-seven industries covered 77 per cent show an increase either of the wages or product, or both, and that there were no less than 89,717 instances of individual increase of wages during the same year.

The following table, showing the increases and decreases of the average yearly earnings of employees in the year 1891 over 1890 is then presented:

Industries.	Average yearly earnings.	Increase or decrease.
Agricultural implements	\$554 80	\$640 16
Arms and ammunition	492 43	468 02
Artificial teeth	192 00	254 40
Artisan's tools	48 96	47 80
Awning, flags, tents, etc.	451 15	428 97
Boots and shoes	428 24	482 17
Brick, tile and sewer pipe	296 83	302 71
Brooms and brushes	286 80	312 70
Building	474 28	463 43
Burial cases, caskets, coffins, etc.	452 50	494 75
Carpenter's	349 50	435 42
Carriages, wagons, etc.	428 31	504 28
Cement, lime, plaster, etc.	467 28	495 12
Chemicals, acids, etc.	476 37	553 85
Clocks, watches, etc.	409 81	312 99
Clothing	550 67	571 00
Cooking and heating apparatus	508 48	596 90
Cordage, rope, twine, etc.	355 97	328 01
Cork, cork soles, etc.	354 63	336 42
Crayons and pencils	359 80	341 28
Drugs and medicines	404 18	466 79
Dye stuffs and chemicals	330 05	345 36
Earthen and stoneware	383 29	422 82
Electrical apparatus, etc.	458 54	412 75
Electrical and gas lighting	495 75	607 40
Fancy articles	495 75	381 75
Fertilizers	388 92	442 88
Fireworks and matches	322 32	182 07
Flax, hemp and jute	313 42	374 17

Flax and hemp goods	314 01	299 94	14 07
Food preparations	527 99	541 85	13 84
Furniture	408 09	482 11	74 02
Gas lighting	573 07	595 23	22 16
Glass	481 07	519 19	38 12
Gloves, mittens, etc.	290 99	291 47	48 48
Gold, wax and starch	550 20	556 22	2 98
Hairwork	501 81	511 70	9 89
Hearing	616 92	577 25	33 67
Ivory, bone, horn goods, etc.	589 99	536 98	53 01
Leather and leather goods	443 28	455 71	12 43
Liquors and beverages	365 00	420 00	55 00
Liquors, malt, distilled and fermented	677 16	710 96	33 80
Lumber	238 61	777 07	53 45
Machinery and machine tools	402 46	420 40	17 94
Metals and metallic goods	533 95	594 06	60 11
Moulds, lasts and patterns	504 87	539 71	34 84
Musical instruments and materials	608 59	543 32	65 27
Oils and illuminating fluids	602 35	632 67	30 32
Paints, colors, etc.	504 58	674 09	69 51
Paper and paper goods	325 37	451 63	88 26
Perfumes, toilet articles, etc.	384 30	434 57	50 27
Photographs and photographic materials	450 72	479 50	28 78
Polishes, blacking, etc.	442 01	502 05	60 04
Printing and publishing	476 05	566 49	80 44
Railway cars and equipments	521 90	550 17	28 18
Rubber goods	527 87	633 06	105 19
Salt	328 68	408 61	79 93
Scientific instruments and appliances	319 72	448 65	128 93
Ship and boat building	482 62	472 87	9 75
Sports and athletic goods	740 16	583 02	157 14
Stone, marble, etc.	384 34	241 69	142 65
Tallow, candles, soap, grease, etc.	405 05	294 89	110 16
Tobacco, cigars, etc.	479 12	430 16	48 96
Toys and games	336 16	424 06	87 90
Trunks and valises	212 62	213 12	50 50
Whips, causes, umbrellas, etc.	472 91	531 43	58 52
Wooden goods	425 31	459 86	34 55
	413 38	528 93	115 55

## LARGER WAGES, FEWER STRIKES.

The figures included in the above table seem to be, and they are in strict harmony with the facts established by table No. 1. Of the sixty-eight industries included, 75 per cent show an increased average yearly earnings in the year 1891, while the total average increase of yearly earnings of the 285,000 employees was \$23 11. The average increase of yearly earnings of the employees in the fifty-one trades showing an increase was \$43 96 in 1891, as compared with 1890.

In addition the investigation of this special subject, the bureau has continued its annual investigation of all labor disturbances occurring in the state during the past year. The total number of strikes reported for the year 1891 was 4,519, as against 6,258 occurring in the year 1890—a decrease of 1,740. Of the total number—4,519—2,375, or 53 per cent, were in the building trades, a fact that seems to follow in natural sequence the results obtained in the special investigation of the "effect of the tariff on labor and wages."

## DEMOCRATIC CONCLUSION OF 1812.

It has been my experience, as I doubt not, it has been that of every statistician more or less, that one often finds himself tempted—unconsciously, perhaps—to pursue an investigation with a view to establish a preconceived theory. How often failure and positive discomfiture follow I can safely leave to those who have engaged in the fascinating study of statistics. To the true statistician, however, uninfluenced by social or political considerations, the profession is an enviable one, and carries with it duties and responsibilities of the highest order. To him theories are as nothing; without facts to support them, they become misleading and, therefore, worthless. Facts and truth are what he seeks; and having possessed himself of them he places them, hard and cold as they oftentimes are, before the public, satisfied that he has done but his duty and thereby attained his highest ambition.

CHARLES F. PECK, Commissioner.

STATE OF OHIO, CITY OF TOLEDO, ss.

LUCAS COUNTY.

Frank J. Cheney makes oath that he is the senior partner of the firm of F. J. Cheney & Co., doing business in the city of Toledo, county and state aforesaid, and that said firm will pay the sum of One Hundred Dollars for each and every case of Catarrh that cannot be cured by the use of Hall's Catarrh Cure.

FRANK J. CHENEY.

Sworn to before me and subscribed in my presence, this 6th day of December, A. D. 1888.

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